

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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R 121258 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1830

INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

S E C R E T TEHRAN 2367

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IR, XF, UR

SUBJECT: KOSYGIN VISIT TO IRAN

REF: TEHRAN 2166

SUMMARY: FONMIN KHALATBARI BRIEFED AMBASSADOR APRIL 11 ON KOSYGIN AUDIENCE WITH SHAH DURING MARCH 14-16 VISIT TO IRAN. TOPICS COVERED BY SHAH AND KOSYGIN INCLUDED PERSIAN GULF, IRAQ AND DEVELOPMENTS IN SUBCONTINENT. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR SAW FOREIGN MINISTER KHALATBARI AFTERNOON APRIL 11 FOR BRIEFING ON KOSYGIN VISIT, WHICH SHAH HAD PROPOSED DURING APRIL 5 AUDIENCE ( REFTEL). MINAII OF AMERICA DESK AND DCM ALSO PRESENT. FOLLOWING IS KHALATBARI' S REPORT.

2. FOR SOME TIME GOI HAD BEEN LED TO UNDERSTAND THAT SOVIET DELEGATION TO OPENING OF SOVIET STEEL PLANT IN ISFAHAN SCHEDULED FOR MID- MARCH WOULD BE LED BY DEPUTY MINISTER FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. THREE DAYS BEFORE EVENT SOVIET AMBASSADOR INFORMED KHALTABRI THAT KOSYGIN PLANNED TO COME IF THIS ACCEPTABLE TO GOI AND GOI OF  
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COURSE CONCURRED.

3. DURING KOSYGIN' S THREE- DAY VISIT HE HAD LONG AUDIENCE WITH SHAH, OTHER PARTICIPANTS BEING KHALATBARI, SANII

MFA SOVIET DESK, AND SOVIET NOTE- TAKER AND INTERPRETER. DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THREE TOPICS: ( A) PERSIAN GULF, ( B) IRAQ AND ( C) DEVELOPMENTS IN SUBCONTINENT.

4. ON GULF SHAH BLUNTLY TOLD KOSYGIN THAT GULF WAS IRAN' S LIFELINE AND MAIN LINK TO OUTSIDE WORLD AND THAT, WHILE IRAN OF COURSE HAD OTHER CONTACTS BY ROAD, RAIL AND AIR WITH NEIGHBORS, GULF WAS VITAL OUTLET THROUGH WHICH IRAN' S OIL AND TRADE TRAVELED TO CONSUMING NATIONS.

FINANCING OF IRAN' S DEVELOPMENT DEPENDED ENTIRELY ON THIS LIFELINE, WHICH MUST REMAIN SECURE. FOR THIS REASON IRAN HAD VITAL INTEREST IN PEACE AND STABILITY IN GULF AND OMAN SEA. KOSYGIN SAID THIS POSED NO PROBLEMS FOR USSR. KOSYGIN WENT ON TO SAY HE UNDERSTOOD GOI DISTURBED ABOUT PRESENCE OF SOVIET NAVY IN INDIAN OCEAN. IN REPLY SHAH SAID THAT, GIVEN LONG BORDERS IRAN SHARED WITH USSR TO NORTH, THERE WAS NO REASON WHY IRAN SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT A FEW SOVIET SHIPS TO THE SOUTH.

5. IRAQ

E: KOSYGIN LED OFF BY ASSERTING THAT SOVIET TREATY WITH IRAQ WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST IRAN OR ANY- ONE ELSE. SOVIETS WANTED TO DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS WITH IRAQ AND HAVE SOME VOICE AND INFLUENCE IN THE ARMS THAT IRAQ WAS ACQUIRING AND THIS WAS BETTER MANAGED WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF TREATY. KOSYGIN ALSO TOLD SHAH THAT SOVIETS HAD AT VARIOUS TIMES URGED IRAQ TO RESOLVE ITS DIFFERENCES WITH IRAN. IN ANSWER TO AMBASSADOR' S QUESTION WHETHER KOSYGIN HAD PROPOSED MEDIATION, KHALATBARI SAID KOSYGIN SEEMED TO HAVE IN MIND " SOMETHING LIKE GOOD OFFICES ROLE". IN ANSWER TO FURTHER QUESTION HOW THIS MIGHT EVOLVE, KHALATBARI SAID THAT THIS WAS NOT CLEAR AND EXTENT OF SOVIET INFLUENCE ON IRAQ OR DESIRE TO PLAY MODERATING ROLE WAS A MATTER OF INTERPRETATION. FOR EXAMPLE, DURING THIS  
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DISCUSSION KOSYGIN TOLD SHAH ABOUT SADDAM HUSSEIN' S

THEN FORTHCOMING VISIT TO MOSCOW AND SAID THAT DURING TALKS WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN IN MOSCOW SOVIETS WOULD URGE HIM TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH IRAN. SHORTLY BEFORE SADDAM HUSSEIN TOOK OFF FOR MOSCOW, IRANIAN HELICOPTER CREW WHICH HAD STRAYED INTO IRAQ AND HAD BEEN DETAINED FOR NUMBER OF WEEKS WAS RELEASED AND SENT TO BEIRUT, WHERE THEY CHECKED IN WITH IRANIAN EMBASSY. GOI WAS NATURALLY GRATIFIED WITH RELEASE OF CREW BUT GOI DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER IRAQIS TOOK THIS ACTION AS RESULT OF SOVIET URGING OR WHETHER SADDAM HUSSEIN DECIDED ON THIS COURSE SO THAT COULD POINT TO THIS ACT AS AN EFFORT BY IRD TO BE CONCILIATORY WHEN THE SUBJECT AROSE IN MOSCOW.

6. KHALATBARI CONCLUDED FROM ALL THIS THAT SOVIETS MIGHT BE SAYING RIGHT THINGS TO IRAQ, BUT GOI AS YET HAS HAD LITTLE CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT IRAQIS WERE PREPARED TO CHANGE THEIR HOSTILE POLICIES TOWARDS IRAN. HE DISCOUNTED SIGNIFICANCE OF RADIO BAGHDAD BROADCAST ON APRIL 7 AMBASSADOR CALLED TO HIS ATTENTION QUOTING IRAQI OFFICIAL AS FAVORING ESTABLISHMENT OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN. KHALATBARI NOTED THAT THIS WAS SAID ON ANNIVERSARY OF SOVIET- IRAQ TREATY AND MIGHT WELL BE AIMED MORE AT MOSCOW THAN TEHRAN AUDIENCE. HE FURTHER NOTED THAT WHATEVER INFLUENCE SOVIETS MIGHT HAVE HAD IN ABATING IRAQI MOVES AGAINST IRAN, IT WAS TEMPORARY. IRAQIS HAD RESTRAINED THEMSELVES DURING HEIGHT OF RECENT CONFLICT WITH KUWAIT AND FOR SEVERAL DAYS THERE HAD BEEN TOTAL ABSENCE OF INCIDENTS ALONG IRAQ- IRAN BORDER.

HOWEVER THINGS SEEM TO HAVE REVERTED TO MORE NORMAL SITUATION WITH INCIDENT ON APRIL 10 WHEN FOUR IRAQI OFFICERS, HEAVILY ARMED, ATTEMPTING TO INFILTRATE INTO IRAN HAD BEEN INTERCEPTED, LEADING TO CLASH AND CASUALTIES.

7. SUBCONTINENT: SHAH TOLD KOSYGIN THAT HE WAS UNDER IMPRESSION INDIA WAS ATTEMPTING TO CREATE TROUBLE IN PUSHTUNISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN. THIS WAS DANGEROUS POLICY TO PURSUE BECAUSE DISINTEGRATION OF PAKISTAN

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COULD HAVE VERY SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. KOSYGIN ASSERTED THAT DISMEMBERMENT OF PAKISTAN WAS NOT IN SOVIET INTERESTS.

8. AFTER FOREGOING PRESENTATION KHALATBARI ADDED AS

CONCLUDING PERSONAL IMPRESSION THAT IN DISCUSSION  
OF DEVELOPMENTS IN SUBCONTINENT AND PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS  
WITH CHINA AND IRAN, KOSYGIN APPEARED TO BE  
CONCERNED ABOUT A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA, PAKISTAN  
AND IRAN WHICH THE SOVIETS WOULD VIEW AS "ENCIRCLEMENT"  
AND CONTRARY TO SOVIET INTERESTS.  
HELMS

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* EXDIS

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

## Message Attributes

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**Subject:** KOSYGIN VISIT TO IRAN  
**TAGS:** PFOR, IR, UR, XF  
**To:** ISLAMABAD  
JIDDA  
KUWAIT  
MOSCOW  
NEW DELHI  
SECSTATE WASHDC  
SS

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